On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charitable purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

The Scholar Ideal. Learing was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[5]

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5. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be over simple, it indicates how the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

555 The emphasis on learning was buttressed by the
565 imperial examination system, the means by
517 which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal of education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their children in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the families be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills

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groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-5.

555 and commercial activity. Therefore, if a scholar
565 did not pass the examination, or having passed
517 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

555 The scholars, therefore, are not to be regard-
565 ed as a separate class or a separate occupational
647 group, except as they relied for their livelihood
517 on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only an additional sign of their prestige.

555 565 517 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri-
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

369 178 565 517 in the ruling elite, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social mobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

565 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power,
517 obtaining offices by virtue of their military
178 success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaign against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their popular success to their military skill, suggest the prestige granted military men in the modern period.

## III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists interpret the exist-
668 ing social structure from a Marxist viewpoint, and extoll the ideal of a classless society. Their belief that the transition to a classless society is inevitable justifies the liquidation of certain surviving classes.

### A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949) Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF1

565 munist regime.

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## III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

• 517 184 Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class," hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectua differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of dignity and power. After five years of Communist rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified and become a nation of

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importance. But on the nagative side there are the restrictions on intellectual freedom imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a sense of insecurity among many.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government where they could attain wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal ambitions, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years in the past, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly a welcome move. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist government has admitted misassignments which resulted in dissatisfaction.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among the students.

517 184 Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to suppress entirely a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in it less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

## IV. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

565 184 Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-business men and manufacturers, who have made up the larger part of China's urban population, continue to exist, although in substantially reduced numbers. Commerce has always occupied an inferior position in traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new and its position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had operated under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese

625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security sub-station in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

625 517 but a scheme for retaining control of all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances requires each shop to secure a permit from a public security agency before requesting a license from the Department of Industry of the local government.[33] Monthly reports of sale and inventory are also required. Failure to report suspicious patrons to the public security agency is a punishable offense. Even the purchase or report of electrical appliances necessitate a permit from the security agencies. Other regulations, such as those governing the registration of firearms[34] and inspection of luggage,[35] follow the same rigid pattern. These regulations make the carrying of firearms a crime and grant to the public security agencies the right to inspect personal luggage at any time.

Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses and recreational facilities are rigidly enforced.[36] In order to obtain an operating permit from public security agencies, owners must submit information regarding their personal history, the people involved in the business, a diagram showing the geographic location of the business, and other documents. Hotels must make daily reports and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time. The regulation

33. Ibid., July 26, 1955, p. 3.

34. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 29, 1951, p. 5.

35. Ibid., May 10, 1951, p. 2.

36. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, ibid., February 4, 1951, p. 6.

625 of printing and engraving firms is equally
517 strict.[37] These firms must secure permits for operation, and printing activities are subject to inspection by security agencies. In addition to these regulations, commercial firms are subject to additional controls from other departments, including those in charge of public purchasing and marketing.

B. Police

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Since the police force form a component part of any public security organization, its functions are dictated by the public security agency and in addition to the maintenance of public order, it engages in propaganda, explaining and justifying, by force, if necessary, government regulations.[38]

The police should be distinguished from the security forces. The latter are a component part of the People's Liberation Army and are organized by divisions and regiments. As the result of an order issued by the State Council in August 1955, security forces of administrative districts and counties were reorganized into armed police, performing functions similar to those of the security force.

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37. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1951, p. 5.

38. Police activities in Peking, People's Daily, Sept. 30, 1954, p. 6.

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cents will be awarded them for miscellaneous buyings, 443
and in the third year the amount will be raised to $1 465
or more. After these three years of apprenticeship they are promoted to clerkship or some definite position with pay. If there is no suitable position for them they may be still treated as apprentices, but with higher pay. In very small stores, however, the apprentices receive no pay at all.

### 12. Store Equipment.

we have here taken into account two main types 443
of equipment: cultural facilities and communication 517
facilities. In regard to the first mentioned they are very poorly served. 89 of the stores do not take any kind of newspaper, and 112 have no books at all.

TABLE XXVI. CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

| NO. OF EACH KIND. | NEWSPAPERS | | BOOKS. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NO. OF STORES. | % | NO. OF STORES. | % |
| Not one | 89 | 73.0 | 112 | 91.8 |
| 1 | 32 | 26.2 | 3 | 2.5 |
| 2 | 1 | .8 | 1 | .8 |
| 3 | 0 | | 1 | .8 |
| 4 | 0 | | 0 | |
| 5 | 0 | | 1 | .8 |
| Above 5 | 0 | | 4 | 3.3 |
| Total | 122 | 100.0 | 122 | 100.0 |

443 ●517 204 Reading material is not only scarce but of poor quality. Among the 34 newspapers taken daily only one can be called a standard newspaper, the *Yi Chih Pao* (益世報). All others are small papers containing only one sheet, usually of stale news, and the lower type of article and novel.

TABLE XXVII. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STORES.

| TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS | NO. OF NEWSPAPE |
|---|---|
| Chun Chiao Pao (群强報) | 16 |
| The Pei Hua Real News (實事白話報) | 11 |
| The People's Daily (民言日報) | 2 |
| The Little Daily (小小日報) | 2 |
| The Commercial Daily (商業日報) | 1 |
| The Yi Shih Pao (益世報) | 1 |
| Shih Pao (實報) | 1 |
| Total | 34 |

The quality of the books is also poor. The biggest shop in the town, the pawnshop, has one book only, a pawn lexicon. Four drug stores have some old Chinese medical books. and the rest of the books are all novels of the old type.

### 13. Communication Facilities.

493 We found that the most popular and convenient means of commuincation is the bicycle, forty-two stores have one or more. The cart is not much used.

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question of adult education, no lectures have been arranged; no Mass Education school has been opened; and there is no library. During the month of October a night school for adults was announced to be run by the only teacher, a low grade man, then in charge of the school. According to the andouncements the purpose of the evening school was to help those be tween the ages of 10 and 40 years who had not had the opportunity of learning to read and write, to learn the Thousand Characters, some arithmetic, and also to receive instruction in the Three Principles. The course was to last three months, and the students were to meet each evening from 6-30 to 8-30, but long before the end of this period the course was dropped, chiefly because the students were too busy to attend, and also owing to the poor type of teacher in whose care the work was put. Since then nothing further has been attempted.

We made further enquiries to see if the negligence to provide cultural facilities by the community was remedied by the people individually. As stated in Chap. V there are thirty four popular periodicals and newspapers supplied in the town and only ten stores have books of any description. Of the 371 families only one family takes a newspaper, and thirty families possess books. In a survey such as this it is difficult to count all the books, but so far as our information goes seventeen reported that they have a few books, between one and ten, eight had more than ten and less than one hundred, and seven reported that they had more than one hundred books.